A

DISCOURSE

OF

GOVERNMENT

With relation to

MILITIA'S.

(Fletcher, Andrew)

Edinburgh;
Printed in the Year MDCXCVIII.

Acc. 93-336
wing F1295

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THERE is not perhaps in humane Affairs any thing so unaccountable as the Indignity and Cruelty with which the far greater part of Mankind suffer themselves to be used under pretence of Government. For some Men falsly perswading themselves that bad Governments are advantageous to them, as most conducing to gratify their Ambition, Avarice and Luxury, set them-

ſelves with the utmoſt art and violence to procure their Eſtabliſhment: and by ſuch Men almoſt the whole World has been trampled under foot, and ſubjected to Tyranny, for want of underſtanding by what means and methods they were enſlaved. For tho Mankind take great care and pains to inſtruct themſelves in other Arts and Sciences, yet very few apply themſelves to conſider the nature of Government, an Enquiry ſo uſeful and neceſſary both to Magiſtrate and People. Nay, in moſt Countries the Arts of State being altogether directed either to enſlave the People, or to keep them under ſlavery; it is become almoſt every where a Crime to reaſon about Matters of Governmeut. But if Men would beſtow a ſmall part of the Time and Application which they throw away upon curious but uſeleſs Studies, or endleſs Gaming, in peruſing thoſe excellent Rules and Examples of Government which the Antients have left us, they would ſoon be enabled to diſcover all ſuch Abuſes and Corruptions as tend to the Ruin of Publick Societies. 'Tis therefore very ſtrange that

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they ſhould think Study and Knowledg neceſſary in every thing they go about, except in the nobleſt and moſt uſeful of all Applications, The Art of Government.

Now if any Man in compaſſion to the Miſeries of a People ſhould endeavour to diſabuſe them in any thing relating to Government, he will certainly incur the Diſpleaſure, and perhaps be purſued by the Rage of thoſe, who think they find their Account in the oppreſſion of the World; but will hardly ſucceed in his Endeavours to undeceive the Multitude. For the generality of all Ranks of Men are cheated by Words and Names; and provided the antient Terms and outward Forms of any Government be retained, let the nature of it be never ſo much altered, they continue to dream that they ſhall ſtill enjoy their former Liberty, and are not to be awakned till it prove too late. Of this there are many remarkable Examples in Hiſtory; but that particular Inſtance which I have choſen to inſiſt on, as moſt ſutable to my purpoſe, is, the Alteration of Government which happened in moſt Countries of Europe about the year

1500. *And 'tis worth obſervation, that tho this Change was fatal to their Liberty, yet it was not introduced by the Contrivance of ill-deſigning Men; nor were the miſchievous Conſequences perceived, unleſs perhaps by a few wiſe Men, who, if they ſaw it, wanted Power to prevent it.*

Two hundred years being already paſſed ſince this Alteration began, Europe has felt the Effects of it by ſad Experience; and the true Cauſes of the Change are now become more viſible.

To lay open this matter in its full Extent, it will be neceſſary to look farther back, and examin the Original and Conſtitution of thoſe Governments that were eſtabliſhed in Europe about the year 400, *and continued till this Alteration.*

When the Goths, Vandals, and other warlike Nations, had at different Times, and under different Leaders, overrun the Weſtern Parts of the Roman Empire, they introduced the following Form of Government into all the Nations they ſubdued. The General of the Army became King of the Conquered Country; and the Conqueſt

queſt being abſolute, he divided the Lands amongſt the great Officers of his Army, afterwards called Barons; who again parcelled out their ſeveral Territories in ſmaller Portions to the inferiour Souldiers that had followed them in the Wars, and who then became their Vaſſals, enjoying thoſe Lands for Military Service. The King reſerved to himſelf ſome Demeaſnes for the maintenance of his Court and Attendance. When this was done, there was no longer any Standing Army kept on foot, but every man went to live upon his own Lands; and when the Defence of the Country required an Army, the King ſummoned the Barons to his Standard, who came attended with their Vaſſals. Thus were the Armies of Europe compoſed for about eleven hundred years; and this Conſtitution of Government put the Sword into the hands of the Subject, becauſe the Vaſſals depended more immediately on the Barons than on the King, which effectually ſecured the freedom of thoſe Governments. For the Barons could not make uſe of their Power to deſtroy thoſe limited Monarchies, without

deſtroying their own Grandeur; nor could the King invade their Privileges, having no other Forces than the Vaſſals of his own Demeaſnes to rely upon for his ſupport in ſuch an Attempt.

I lay no great ſtreſs on any other Limitations of thoſe Monarchies; nor do I think any ſo eſſential to the Liberties of the People, as that which placed the Sword in the hands of the Subject. And ſince in our time moſt Princes of Europe are in poſſeſſion of the Sword, by Standing Mercenary Forces kept up in time of Peace, abſolutely depending upon them, I ſay that all ſuch Governments are changed from Monarchies to Tyrannies. Nor can the Power of granting or refuſing Money, tho veſted in the Subject, be a ſufficient ſecurity for Liberty, where a Standing Mercenary Army is kept up in time of Peace: For he that is arm'd, is always Maſter of the Purſe of him that is unarm'd. And not only that Government is tyrannical, which is tyrannically exerciſed; but all Governments are tyrannical, which have not in their Conſtitution a ſufficient Security againſt the Arbitrary Power of the Prince.

I do not deny that these limited Monarchies during the greatness of the Barons, had some Defects: I know few Governments free from them. But after all, there was a Balance that kept those Governments steady, and an effectual Provision against the Encroachments of the Crown. I do less pretend that the present Governments can be restored to the Constitution before mentioned. The following Discourse will show the impossibility of it. My design in the first place is, to explain the Nature of the past and present Governments of Europe, and to disabuse those who think them the same, because they are called by the same Names; and who ignorantly clamour against such as would preserve that Liberty which is yet left.

In order to this, and for a further and clearer Illustration of the Matter, I shall deduce from their Original, the Causes, Occasions, and the Complication of those many unforeseen Accidents; which falling out much about the same time, produced so great a Change. And it will at first sight seem very strange, when I shall name the

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Reſtoration of Learning, the Invention of Printing, of the Needle and of Gunpowder, as the chief of them; things in themſelves ſo excellent, and which, the laſt only excepted, might have proved of infinite Advantage to the World, if their remote Influence upon Government had been obviated by ſutable Remedies. Such odd Conſequences, and of ſuch a different Nature, accompany extraordinary Inventions of any kind.

Conſtantinople being taken by Mahomet the Second, in the Year 1453, *many Learned Greeks fled over into Italy; where the favourable reception they found from the Popes, Princes, and Republicks of that Country, ſoon introduced amongſt the better ſort of Men, the ſtudy of the Greek Tongue, and of the Antient Authors in that Language. About the ſame time likewiſe ſome Learned Men began to reſtore the Purity of the Latin Tongue. But that which moſt contributed to the Advancement of all kind of Learning, and eſpecially the ſtudy of the Antients, was the Art of Printing; which was brought*

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to a great degree of Perfection a few Years after. By this means their Books became common, and their Arts generally understood and admired. But as Mankind from a natural propenſion to Pleaſure, is always ready to chuſe out of every thing what may moſt gratify that vicious Appetite; ſo the Arts which the Italians firſt applied themſelves to improve, were principally thoſe that had been ſubſervient to the Luxury of the Antients in the moſt corrupt Ages, of which they had many Monuments ſtill remaining. Italy was preſently filled with Architects, Painters and Sculptors; and a prodigious Expence was made in Buildings, Pictures and Statues. Thus the Italians began to come off from their frugal and military way of living, and addicted themſelves to the purſuit of refined and expenſive Pleaſures, as much as the Wars of thoſe Times would permit. This Infection ſpread it ſelf by degrees into the Neighbouring Nations. But theſe things alone had not been ſufficient to work ſo great a Change in Government, if a preceding Invention, brought into common

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uſe about that time, had not produced more new and extraordinary Effects than any had ever done before; which probably may have many Conſequences yet unforeſeen, and a farther Influence upon the Manners of Men, as long as the World laſts: I mean, the Invention of the Needle, by the help of which Navigation was greatly improved; a Paſſage opened by Sea to the Eaſt-Indies, and a new World diſcovered. By this means the Luxury of Aſia and America was added to that of the Antients; and all Ages, and all Countries concurred to ſink Europe into an Abyſs of Pleaſures; which were rendred the more expenſive by a perpetual Change of the Faſhions in Clothes, Equipage and Furniture of Houſes.

Theſe things brought a total Alteration in the way of living, upon which all Government depends. 'Tis true, Knowledg being mightily increaſed, and a great Curioſity and Nicety in every thing introduced, Men imagined themſelves to be gainers in all Points, by changing from their frugal and military way of living, which I muſt

must confess had some mixture of Rudeness and Ignorance in it, tho not inseparable from it. But at the same time they did not consider the unspeakable Evils that are altogether inseparable from an expensive way of living.

To touch upon all these, tho slightly, would carry me too far from my Subject: I shall therefore content my self to apply what has been said, to the immediate Design of this Discourse.

The far greater share of all those Expences fell upon the Barons; for they were the Persons most able to make them, and their Dignity seemed to challenge whatever might distinguish them from other Men. This plunged them on a sudden into so great Debts, that if they did not sell, or otherwise alienate their Lands, they found themselves at least obliged to turn the Military Service their Vassals owed them, into Money; partly by way of Rent, and partly by way of Lease, or Fine, for paiment of their Creditors. And by this means the Vassal having his Lands no longer at so easy a Rate as before, could no more be obliged

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to Military Service, and so became a Tenant. Thus the Armies, which in preceding times had been always composed of such Men as these, ceased of course, and the Sword fell out of the hands of the Barons. But there being always a necessity to provide for the Defence of every Country, Princes were afterwards allowed to raise Armies of Volunteers and Mercenaries. And great Sums were given by Diets and Parliaments for their Maintenance, to be levied upon the People grown rich by Trade, and dispirited for want of Military Exercise. Such Forces were at first only raised for present Exigencies, and continued no longer on foot than the Occasions lasted. But Princes soon found Pretences to make them perpetual, the chief of which was the garisoning Frontier Towns and Fortresses; the Methods of War being altered to the tedious and chargeable way of Sieges, principally by the Invention of Gunpowder. The Officers and Souldiers of these Mercenary Armies depending for their Subsistence and Preferment, as immediately upon the Prince, as the former Mili-

Militia's did upon the Barons, the Power of the Sword was transferred from the Subject to the King, and War grew a constant Trade to live by. Nay, many of the Barons themselves being reduced to Poverty by their expensive way of living, took Commands in those Mercenary Troops; and being still continued Hereditary Members of Diets, and other Assemblies of State, after the loss of their Vassals, whom they formerly represented, they were now the readiest of all others to load the People with heavy Taxes, which were employed to increase the Prince's Military Power, by Guards, Armies, and Citadels, beyond Bounds or Remedy.

Some Princes with much impatience pressed on to Arbitrary Power before things were ripe, as the Kings of France and Charles Duke of Burgundy. Philip de Commines says of the latter, 'That having made a Truce with the King of France 'he called an Assembly of the Estates of his 'Country, and remonstrated to them the pre-'judice he had sustained by not having 'Standing Troops as that King had; that

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'*if five hundred Men had been in garison*
'*upon their Frontier, the King of France*
'*would never have undertaken that War;*
'*and having represented the Mischiefs that*
'*were ready to fall upon them for want of*
'*such a Force, he earnestly pressed them to*
'*grant such a Sum as would maintain eight*
'*hundred Lances. At length they gave him*
'*a hundred and twenty thousand Crowns*
'*more than his ordinary Revenue, (from*
'*which Tax Burgundy was exempted) But*
'*his Subjects were for many reasons under*
'*great Apprehensions of falling into the sub-*
'*jection to which they saw the Kingdom of*
'*France already reduced by means of such*
'*Troops. And truly their Apprehensions*
'*were not ill-grounded; for when he had*
'*got together five or six hundred Men at*
'*Arms, he presently had a mind to more,*
'*and with them disturbed the peace of all his*
'*Neighbours: He augmented the tax from*
'*one hundred and twenty to five hundred*
'*thousand Crowns, and increased the Num-*
'*bers of those Men at Arms, by whom his*
'*Subjects were greatly oppress. Francis de*
Beaucaire Bishop of Metz in his History of
France

France speaking of the same Affair, says, 'That the foresaid States could not be induced to maintain Mercenary Forces, being 'sensible of the Difficulties into which the 'Commonalty of France had brought themselves by the like Concession; that Princes 'might increase their Forces at pleasure, and 'sometimes (even when they had obtained 'Money) pay them ill, to the vexation and 'destruction of the poor People; and likewise that Kings and Princes not contented 'with their antient Patrimony, were always 'ready under this pretext to break in upon 'the Properties of all Men, and to raise 'what Money they pleased. That nevertheless they gave him a hundred and twenty 'thousand Crowns yearly, which he soon increased to five hundred thousand: But 'that Burgundy (which was the antient Dominion of that Family) retained its antient Liberty, and could by no means be obliged to pay any part of this new Tax. 'Tis true, Philip de Commines subjoins to the forecited passage, that he believes standing Forces may be well employed under a wise King or Prince; but that if he be

not ſo, or leaves his Children young, the uſe that he or their Governours make of them, is not always profitable either for the King or his Subjects. If this Addition be his own, and not rather an Inſertion added by the Preſident of the Parliament of Paris, who publiſhed, and, as the foreſaid Francis de Beaucaire ſays he was credibly informed, corrupted his Memoirs; yet Experience ſhews him to be miſtaken: For the Example of his Maſter Lewis the XIth, *whom upon many occaſions he calls a Wiſe Prince, and thoſe of moſt Princes under whom ſtanding Forces were firſt allow'd, demonſtrates, that they are more dangerous under a wiſe Prince than any other: And Reaſon tells us, that if they are the only proper Inſtruments to introduce Arbitrary Power, as ſhall be made plain, a cunning and able Prince, who by the World is called a Wiſe one, is more capable of uſing them to that end than a weak Prince, or Governors during a Minority; and that a wiſe Prince having once procured them to be eſtabliſhed, they will maintain themſelves under any.*

I am not ignorant that before this Change, Subsidies were often given by Diets, States and Parliaments, and some raised by the Edicts of Princes for maintaining Wars; but these were small, and no way sufficient to subsist such numerous Armies as those of the Barons Militia. There were likewise Mercenary Troops sometimes entertained by Princes who aimed at Arbitrary Power, and by some Commonwealths in time of War for their own defence; but these were only Strangers, or in very small numbers, and held no proportion with those vast Armies of Mercenaries which this change has fix'd upon Europe to her affliction and ruin.

What I have said hitherto has been always with regard to one or other, and often to most Countries in Europe. What follows will have a more particular regard to Britain; where, tho the Power of the Barons be ceased, yet no mercenary Troops are yet established. The Reason of which is, that England had before this great Alteration lost all her Conquests in France, the Town of Calais only excepted; and that al-

ſo was taken by the French, before the Change was thorowly made. So that the Kings of England had no Pretence to keep up Standing Forces, either to defend Conqueſts abroad, or to gariſon a Frontier towards France, ſince the Sea was now become the only Frontier between thoſe two Countries.

Neither could the Frontier towards Scotland afford any colour to thoſe Princes for raiſing ſuch Forces, ſince the Kings of Scotland had none; and that Scotland was not able to give Money for the ſubſiſting any conſiderable number. 'Tis true, the Example of France, with which Country Scotland had conſtant correſpondence, and ſome French Counſellors about Mary of Guiſe, Queen Dowager and Regent of Scotland, induced her to propoſe a Tax for the ſubſiſting of Mercenary Soldiers to be employed for the defence of the Frontier of Scotland; and to eaſe, as was pretended, the Barons of that trouble. But in that honourable and wiſe Remonſtrance, which was made by 300 of the leſſer Barons (as much diſſatisfied with the Lords, who by their ſilence betrayed the publick Liberty,

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as with the Regent her self) she was told; That their Forefathers had defended themselves and their Fortunes against the English, when that Nation was much more powerful than they were at that time, and had made frequent incursions into their Country: That they themselves had not so far degenerated from their Ancestors, to refuse, when occasion requir'd, to hazard their Lives and Fortunes in the Service of their Country: That as to the hiring of Mercenary Soldiers, it was a thing of great danger to put the Liberty of Scotland into the hands of Men, who are of no Fortunes, nor have any hopes but in the publick Calamity; who for Money would attempt any thing; whose excessive Avarice opportunity would inflame to a desire of all manner of Innovations, and whose Faith would follow the Wheel of Fortune. That tho these Men should be more mindful of the Duty they owe to their Country, than of their own particular Interest, was it to be supposed, that Mercenaries would fight more bravely for the defence of other Mens Fortunes, than the Possessors would do for

themſelves or their own; or that a little Money ſhould excite their ignoble Minds to a higher pitch of Honour than that with which the Barons are inſpired, when they fight for the preſervation of their Fortunes, Wives and Children, Religion and Liberty: That moſt Men did ſuſpect and apprehend, that this new way of making War, might be not only uſeleſs, but dangerous to the Nation; ſince the Engliſh, if they ſhould imitate the Example, might, without any great trouble to their People, raiſe far greater Sums for the maintenance of Mercenary Soldiers, than Scotland could; and by this means not only ſpoil and lay open the Frontier, but penetrate into the Bowels of the Kingdom: And that it was in the Militia of the Barons their Anceſtors had plac'd their chief Truſt, for the defence of themſelves againſt a greater Power.

By theſe powerful Reaſons being made ſenſible of her Error, the Queen deſiſted from her Demands. Her Daughter Queen Mary, who, as the great Hiſtorian ſays, look'd upon the moderate Government of a limited King-

Kingdom, to be disgraceful to Monarchs, and upon the slavery of the People, as the freedom of Kings, resolved to have Guards about her Person; but could not fall upon a way to compass them: for she could find no Pretext, unless it were the empty shew of Magnificence which belongs to a Court, and the Example of Foreign Princes; for the former Kings had always trusted themselves to the Faith of the Barons. At length upon a false and ridiculous pretence, of an Intention in a certain Nobleman to seize her Person, she assumed them; but they were soon abolished. Nor had her Son King James any other Guards whilst he was King of Scotland only, than forty Gentlemen: And that King declares in the Act of Parliament, by which they are established, that he will not burden his People by any Tax or Imposition for their Maintenance.

Henry the Seventh, King of England, seems to have perceived sooner, and understood better the Alteration before-mentioned, than any Prince of his time, and obtained several Laws to favour and fa-

cilitate it. But his Succeſſors were altogether improper to ſecond him: For Henry the Eighth was an unthinking Prince. The Reigns of Edward the Sixth, and Queen Mary, were ſhort; and Queen Elizabeth loved her People too well to attempt it. King James, who ſucceeded her, was a ſtranger in England, and of no Intereſt abroad. King Charles I. did indeed endeavour to make himſelf Abſolute, tho ſomewhat prepoſterouſly; for he attempted to ſeize the Purſe, before he was Maſter of the Sword. But very wiſe Men have been of Opinion, that if he had been poſſeſſed of as numerous Guards as thoſe which were afterwards raiſed, and conſtantly kept up by King Charles the Second, he might eaſily have ſucceeded in his Enterprize. For we ſee that in thoſe Struggles which the Country Party had with King Charles the Second, and in thoſe Endeavours they uſed to bring about that Revolution which was afterwards compaſſed by a Foreign Power; the chief and inſuperable Difficulty they met with, was from thoſe Guards. And tho King James the Second had provoked

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these Nations to the last degree, and made his own Game as hard as possible, not only by invading our Civil Liberties, but likewise by endeavouring to change the Established Religion for another which the People abhorred, whereby he lost their Affections, and even those of a great part of his Army: Yet notwithstanding all this mismanagement, Britain stood in need of a Foreign Force to save it; and how dangerous a Remedy that is, the Histories of all Ages can witness. 'Tis true, this Circumstance was favourable, that a Prince who had married the next Heir to these Kingdoms, was at the Head of our Deliverance: yet did it engage us in a long and expensive War. And now that we are much impoverished, and England by means of her former Riches and present Poverty, fallen into all the Corruptions which those great Enemies of Vertue, Want, and Excess of Riches can produce; that there are such numbers of Mercenary Forces on foot at home and abroad; that the greatest part of the Officers have no other way to subsist; that they are commanded by a wise and active

active King, who has at his Disposal the formidable Land and Sea Forces of a Neighbouring Nation, the great Rival of our Trade: A King, who by Blood, Relation, other particular Ties, and common Interest, has the House of Austria, most of the Princes of Germany, and Potentates of the North, for his Friends and Allies; who can, whatever Interest he join with, do what he thinks fit in Europe: I say, if a Mercenary Standing Army be kept up, (the first of that kind, except those of the Usurper Cromwel, and the late King James, that Britain has seen for thirteen hundred Years) I desire to know where the Security of the British Liberties lies, unless in the good Will and Pleasure of the King: I desire to know, what real Security can be had against Standing Armies of Mercenaries, backed by the Corruption of both Nations, the Tendency of the way of Living, the Genius of the Age, and the Example of the World.

Having shown the difference between the past and present Government of Britain, how

how precarious our Liberties are, and how from having the beſt ſecurity for them we are in hazard of having none at all; 'tis to be hoped that thoſe who are for a Standing Army, and loſing no occaſion of advancing and extending the Prerogative, from a miſtaken Opinion that they eſtabliſh the antient Government of theſe Nations, will ſee what ſort of Patriots they are.

But we are told, that only Standing Mercenary Forces can defend Britain from the perpetual Standing Armies of France. However frivolous this Aſſertion be, as indeed no good Argument can be brought to ſupport it, either from Reaſon or Experience, as ſhall be proved hereafter; yet allowing it to be good, what Security can the Nations have, that theſe Standing Forces ſhall not at ſome time or other be made uſe of to ſuppreſs the Liberties of the People, tho not in this King's time, to whom we owe their Preſervation? For I hope there is no Man ſo weak to think, that keeping up the Army for a year, or for any longer time than the Parliaments of both Nations

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ſhall have engaged the publick Faith to make good all Deficiencies of Funds granted for their Maintenance, is not the keeping them up for ever. 'Tis a pitiful ſhift in the Undertakers for a Standing Army, to ſay, We are not for a Standing Army; We are only for an Army from year to year, or till the Militia be made uſeful. For Britain cannot be in any hazard from France; at leaſt till that Kingdom, ſo much exhauſted by War and Perſecution, ſhall have a breathing ſpace to recover. Before that time our Militias will be in order; and in the mean time the Fleet. Beſides, no Prince ever ſurrendred ſo great Countries and ſo many ſtrong Places, I ſhall not ſay, in order to make a new War; but as theſe Men will have it, to continue the ſame. The French King is old and diſeaſed, and was never willing to hazard much by any bold Attempt. If he, or the Dauphin, upon his Deceaſe, may be ſuſpected of any farther Deſign, it muſt be upon the Spaniſh Monarchy, in caſe of the death of that King. And if it be objected, that we ſhall ſtand in need of an Army, in ſuch

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a Conjuncture ; I answer, that our Part in that, or in any other foreign War, will be best managed by Sea, as shall be shown hereafter.

Let us then see if Mercenary Armies be not exactly calculated to enslave a Nation. Which I think may be easily proved, if we consider that such Troops are generally composed of Men who make a Trade of War ; and having little or no Patrimony, or spent what they once had, enter into that Employment in hopes of its Continuance during Life, not at all thinking how to make themselves capable of any other. By which means heavy and perpetual Taxes must be entail'd for ever upon the People for their Subsistence ; and since all their Relations stand engaged to support their Interest, let all Men judg, if this will not prove a very united and formidable Party in a Nation.

But the Undertakers must pardon me if I tell them, that no well-constituted Government ever suffered any such Men in it, whose Interest leads them to imbroil the State in War, and are a useless and insupportable Burden in time of Peace. Venice

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or Holland are neither of them examples to prove the contrary; for had not their ſituation been different from that of other Countries, their Liberty had not continued to this time. And they ſuffer no Forces to remain within thoſe inacceſſible places, which are the chief ſeats of their power. Carthage, that had not thoſe advantages of ſituation, and yet uſed Mercenary Forces, was brought to the brink of ruin by them in a time of Peace; beaten in three Wars, and at laſt ſubdued by the Romans. If ever any Government ſtood in need of ſuch a ſort of Men, 'twas that of antient Rome, becauſe they were engaged in perpetual War. The Argument can never be ſo ſtrong in any other Caſe. But the Romans well knowing ſuch Men and Liberty to be incompatible, and yet being under a neceſſity of having Armies conſtantly on foot, made frequent Changes of the Men that ſerved in them; who, when they had been ſome time in the Army, were permitted to return to their Poſſeſſions, Trades, or other Employments. And to ſhow how true a Judgment that wiſe State made of this Matter, it is ſufficient to obſerve, that

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those who subverted that Government, the greatest that ever was amongst Men, found themselves obliged to continue the same Souldiers always in constant Pay and Service.

If during the late War we had followed so wise a course as that of Rome, there had been thrice as many trained Men in the Nations as at present there are; no difficulties about Recruits, nor debates about keeping up Armies in time of Peace, because some Men resolve to live by Arms in time of Peace, whether it be for the good of the Nations or not. And since such was the practice of Rome, I hope no man will have the confidence to say, that this method was not as effectual for War as any other. If it be objected, that Rome had perpetual Wars, and therefore that might be a good practice among them, which would not be so with us; I confess I cannot see the Consequence; for if Rome had perpetual Wars, the Romans ought still to have continued the same men in their Armies, that they might, according to the Notion of these men, render their Troops more useful.

And

And if we did change our men during a War, we ſhould have more men that would underſtand ſomething of it. If any man ſay, not ſo much as if they continued in the Army: I anſwer, that many of thoſe who continue in the Army, are afterwards ſwept away by the War, and live not to be of uſe in time of Peace; that thoſe who eſcape the War, being fewer than in the other caſe, are ſoon conſumed: and that Mercenary Standing Forces in time of Peace, if not employed to do miſchief, ſoon become like thoſe of Holland in 72, fit only to loſe forty ſtrong places in forty days.

There is another thing which I would not mention if it were not abſolutely neceſſary to my preſent purpoſe; and that is, the uſual Manners of thoſe who are engaged in Mercenary Armies. I ſpeak now of Officers in other Parts of Europe, and not of thoſe in our Armies, allowing them to be the beſt; and if they will have it ſo, quite different from all others. I will not apply to them any part of what I ſhall ſay concerning the reſt. They themſelves beſt know how

how far any thing of that Nature may be applicable to them. I say then, most Princes of Europe having put themselves upon the foot of keeping up Forces, rather numerous than well entertain'd, can give but small Allowance to Officers, and that likewise is for the most part very ill paid, in order to render them the more necessitous and depending; and yet they permit them to live in all that extravagancy which mutual example and emulation prompts them to. By which means the Officers become insensibly engaged in numberless Frauds, Oppressions and Cruelties, the Colonels against the Captains, and the Captains against the inferiour Souldiers; and all of them against all persons with whom they have any kind of business. So that there is hardly any sort of Men who are less Men of Honour than the Officers of Mercenary Forces: and indeed Honour has now no other signification amongst them than Courage. Besides, most Men that enter into those Armies, whether Officers or Souldiers, as if they were obliged to show themselves new Creatures, and per-

fectly regenerate, if before they were modeſt or ſober, immediately turn themſelves to all manner of Debauchery and Wickedneſs, committing all kind of Injuſtice and Barbarity againſt poor and defenceleſs People. Now tho the natural Temper of our Men be more juſt and honeſt than that of the French, or of any other People, yet may it not be feared, that ſuch bad Manners may prove contagious? And if ſuch Manners do not fit Men to enſlave a Nation, Devils only muſt do it. On the other hand, if it ſhould happen that the Officers of Standing Armies in Britain ſhould live with greater Regularity and Modeſty than was ever yet ſeen in that ſort of Men, it might very probably fall out, that being quarter'd in all Parts of the Country, ſome of them might be returned Members of Parliament for divers of the Electing Boroughs; and of what Conſequence that would be, I leave all Men to judg. So that whatever be the Conduct of a Mercenary Army, we can never be ſecure as long as any ſuch Force is kept up in Britain.

But

But the Undertakers for a Standing Army will say; Will you turn so many Gentlemen to starve, who have faithfully serv'd the Government? This Question I allow to be founded upon some reason. For it ought to be acknowledg'd in justice to our Souldiery, that on all occasions, and in all actions, both Officers and Souldiers have done their part; and therefore I think it may be reasonable, that all Officers and Souldiers of above forty years, in consideration of their unfitness to apply themselves at that age to any other Employment, should be recommended to the bounty of both Parliaments.

I confess I do not see by what Rules of good Policy any Mercenary Forces have been connived at either in Scotland, England, or Ireland. Sure, 'tis allowing the dispensing Power in the most essential Point of the Constitution of Government in these Nations.

Scotland and England are Nations that were formerly very jealous of Liberty; of which there are many remarkable Instances in the Histories of these Countries. And we may hope that the late Revolution having given

such a blow to Arbitrary power in these Kingdoms, they will be very careful to preserve their Rights and Privileges. And sure it is not very suitable to these, that any Standing Forces be kept up in Britain: or that there should be any Scots, English, or Irish Regiments maintained in Ireland, or any where abroad; or Regiments of any Nation at the charge of England. I shall not say how readily the Regiments that were in the service of Holland, came over against the Duke of Monmouth: He was a Rebel, and did not succeed. But we all know with what expedition the Irish Mercenary Forces were brought into Britain to oppose his present Majesty in that glorious Enterprize for our Deliverance.

The Subjects formerly had a real Security for their Liberty, by having the Sword in their own hands. That Security, which is the greatest of all others, is lost; and not only so, but the Sword is put into the hand of the King by his Power over the Militia. All this is not enough; but we must have in both Kingdoms Standing

Armies

Armies of Mercenaries, who for the moſt part have no other way to ſubſiſt, and conſequently are capable to execute any Commands: And yet every Man muſt think his Liberties as ſafe as ever, under pain of being thought diſaffected to the Monarchy. But ſure it muſt not be the antient limited and legal Monarchies of Scotland and England, that theſe Gentlemen mean. It muſt be a French Faſhion of Monarchy, where the King has power to do what he pleaſes, and the People no ſecurity for any thing they poſſeſs. We have quitted our antient Security, and put the Militia into the power of the King. The only remaining Security we have is, That no Standing Armies were ever yet allowed in time of Peace, the Parliament of England having ſo often and ſo expreſly declared them to be contrary to Law: and that of Scotland having not only declar'd them to be a Grievance, but made the keeping them up an Article in the Forfeiture of the late King James. If a Standing Army be allow'd, What Difference will there be between the Government we ſhall then live under, and any kind of

Government under a good Prince? Of which there have been some in the most despotick Tyrannies. If these be limited and not absolute Monarchies, then, as there are Conditions, so there ought to be Securities on both sides. The Barons never pretended that their Militia's should be constantly on foot, and together in Bodies in times of Peace. 'Tis evident that would have subverted the Constitution, and made every one of them a petty Tyrant. And 'tis as evident, that Standing Forces are the fittest Instruments to make a Tyrant. Whoever is for making the King's Power too great or too little, is an Enemy to the Monarchy. But to give him Standing Armies, puts his Power beyond controul, and consequently makes him absolute. If the People had any other real Security for their Liberty than that there be no Standing Armies in time of Peace, there might be some colour to demand them. But if that only remaining Security be taken away from the People, we have destroyed these Monarchies.

'Tis pretended, we are in hazard of being invaded by a powerful Enemy; shall we therefore destroy our Government? What is it then that we would defend? Is it our Persons, by the ruin of our Government? In what then shall we be gainers? In saving our Lives by the loss of our Liberties? If our Pleasures and Luxury make us live like Brutes, it seems we must not pretend to reason any better than they. I would fain know, if there be any other way of making a Prince Absolute, than by allowing him a Standing Army: if by it all Princes have not been made Absolute; if without it, any. Whether our Enemies shall conquer us is uncertain; but whether Standing Armies will enslave us, neither Reason nor Experience will suffer us to doubt. 'Tis therefore evident, that no pretence of danger from abroad, can be an Argument to keep up Standing Armies, or any Mercenary Forces.

Let us now consider whether we may not be able to defend our selves by well-regulated Militia's against any Foreign Force, tho never so formidable: that these Nations

may be free from the fears of Invasion from abroad, as well as from the danger of Slavery at home.

After the Barons had lost the Military Service of their Vassals, Militia's of some kind or other were established in most parts of Europe. But the Prince having every where the power of naming and preferring the Officers of these Militia's, they could be no Balance in Government as the former were. And he that will consider what has been said in this Discourse, will easily perceive that the essential Quality requisite to such a Militia, as might fully answer the Ends of the former, must be, that the Officers should be named and preferr'd, as well as they and the Souldiers paid, by the People that set them out. So that if Princes look upon the present Militia's as not capable of defending a Nation against Foreign Armies; the People have little reason to entrust them with the Defence of their Liberties.

And tho upon the dissolution of that Antient Militia under the Barons, which made these Nations so Great and Glorious, by setting

ſetting up Militia's generally through Europe, the Sword came not into the hands of the Commons; which was the only thing could have continued the former Balance of Government, but was every-where put into the hands of the King: Nevertheleſs ambitious Princes, who aimed at Abſolute Power, thinking they could never uſe it effectually to that end, unleſs it were wielded by Mercenaries, and Men that had no other Intereſt in the Commonwealth than their Pay, have ſtill endeavoured by all means to diſcredit Militia's, and render them burdenſom to the People, by never ſuffering them to be upon any right, or ſo much as tolerable Foot, and all to perſwade the Neceſſity of Standing Forces. And indeed they have ſucceeded too well in this Deſign: For the greateſt part of the World has been fool'd into an opinion, That a Militia cannot be made ſerviceable. I ſhall not ſay 'twas only Militia's could conquer the World; and that Princes to have ſucceeded fully in the Deſign before-mentioned, muſt have deſtroyed all the Hiſtory and Memory of Antient Governments, where the

Accounts

Accounts of ſo many excellent Models of Militia are yet extant. I know the Prejudice and Ignorance of the World concerning the Art of War, as it was practiſed by the Antients; tho what remains of that Knowledg in their Writings be ſufficient to give a mean Opinion of the Modern Diſcipline. For this reaſon I ſhall examine, by what has paſſed of late Years in theſe Nations, whether Experience have convinced us, that Officers bred in Foreign Wars, be ſo far preferable to others who have been under no other Diſcipline than that of an ordinary and ill-regulated Militia; and if the Commonalty of both Kingdoms, at their firſt entrance upon Service, be not as capable of a reſolute Military Action, as any Standing Forces. This doubt will be fully reſolved, by conſidering the Actions of the Marqueſs of Montroſe, which may be compared, all Circumſtances conſidered, with thoſe of Ceſar, as well for the Military Skill, as the bad tendency of them; tho the Marqueſs had never ſerved abroad, nor ſeen any Action, before the ſix Victories, which, with Numbers

bers much inferior to those of his Enemies, he obtained in one Year; and the most considerable of them were chiefly gained by the assistance of the Tenants and Vassals of the Family of Gordon. The Battel of Naseby will be a farther illustration of this matter, which is generally thought to have been the deciding Action of the late Civil War. The Number of Forces was equal on both sides; nor was there any Advantage in the Ground, or extraordinary Accident that happened during the Fight, which could be of considerable Importance to either. In the Army of the Parliament, nine only of the Officers had served abroad, and most of the Souldiers were Prentices drawn out of London but two months before. In the King's Army there were above a thousand Officers that had served in Foreign parts: Yet was that Army routed and broken by those new-raised Prentices; who were observed to be obedient to Command, and brave in Fight; not only in that Action, but on all Occasions during that active Campaign. The People of these Nations are not a dastardly Crew,

Crew, like those born in Misery under Oppression and Slavery, who must have time to rub off that Fear, Cowardice and Stupidity which they bring from home. And tho Officers seem to stand in more need of Experience than private Souldiers; yet in that Battel it was seen, that the Sobriety and Principle of the Officers on the one side, prevailed over the Experience of those on the other.

'Tis well known that divers Regiments of our Army lately in Flanders have never been once in Action, and not one half of them above thrice, nor any of them five times during the whole War. O, but they have been under Discipline, and accustomed to obey! And so may men in Militia's. We have had to do with an Enemy, who, tho abounding in numbers of excellent Officers, yet durst never fight us without a visible Advantage. Is that Enemy like to invade us, when he must be unavoidably necessitated to put all to hazard in ten days, or starve?

A good Militia is of such Importance to a Nation, that it is the chief part of the Con-

Conſtitution of any free Government. For tho as to other things, the Conſtitution be never ſo ſlight, a good Militia will always preſerve the publick Liberty. But in the beſt Conſtitution that ever was, as to all other parts of Government; if the Militia be not upon a right foot, the Liberty of that people muſt periſh. The Militia of Antient Rome, the beſt that ever was in any Government, made her Miſtreſs of the World: But Standing Armies inſlaved that great People, and their excellent Militia and Freedom periſhed together. The Lacedemonians continued 800 Years free, and in great Honour, becauſe they had a good Militia. The Swiſſes at this day are the freeſt, happieſt, and the People of all Europe who can beſt defend themſelves, becauſe they have the beſt Militia.

I have ſhown that Liberty in the Monarchical Governments of Europe, ſubſiſted ſo long as the Militia of the Barons was on foot: And that on the decay of their Militia, (which tho it was none of the beſt, ſo was it none of the worſt) Standing Forces and Tyranny have been every-where introduc'd, unleſs

unleſs in Britain and Ireland; which by reaſon of their ſituation, having the Sea for Frontier, and a powerful Fleet to protect them, could afford no pretence for ſuch Forces. And tho any Militia, however ſlightly conſtituted, be ſufficient for that reaſon to defend us; yet all Improvements in the Conſtitution of Militia's, being further Securities for the Liberty of the People, I think we ought to endeavour the amendment of them, and till that can take place, to make the preſent Militia's uſeful in the former and ordinary Methods.

That the whole free People of any Nation ought to be exerciſed to Arms, not only the Example of our Anceſtors, as appears by the Acts of Parliament made in both Kingdoms to that purpoſe, and that of the wiſeſt Governments among the Antients; but the advantage of chuſing out of great numbers, ſeems clearly to demonſtrate. For in Countries where Husbandry, Trade, Manufactures, and other mechanical Arts are carried on, even in time of War; the Impediments of men are ſo many and ſo various,

various, that unleſs the whole People be exerciſed, no conſiderable numbers of men can be drawn out, without diſturbing thoſe Employments, which are the Vitals of the Political Body. Beſides, that upon great Defeats, and under extream Calamities, from which no Government was ever exempted, every Nation ſtands in need of all the People, as the Antients ſometimes did of their Slaves. And I cannot ſee, why Arms ſhould be denied to any man who is not a Slave, ſince they are the only true Badges of Liberty; and ought never, but in times of utmoſt Neceſſity, to be put into the hands of Mercenaries or Slaves: neither can I underſtand, why any man that has Arms, ſhould not be taught the uſe of them.

By the Conſtitution of the preſent Militia in both Nations, there is but a ſmall number of the men able to bear Arms exerciſed; and Men of Quality and Eſtate, are allowed to ſend any wretched Servant in their place: ſo that they themſelves are become mean, by being diſuſed to handle Arms; and will not learn the uſe of them, becauſe

becauſe they are aſhamed of their Ignorance: by which means the Militia's being compoſed only of Servants, theſe Nations ſeem altogether unfit to defend themſelves, and Standing Forces to be neceſſary. Now can it be ſuppoſed that a few Servants will fight for the defence of their Maſters Eſtates, if their Maſters only look on? Or that ſome inconſiderable Freeholders, as for the moſt part thoſe who command the Militia are, ſhould, at the head of thoſe Servants, expoſe their Lives for men of more plentiful Eſtates, without being aſſiſted by them? No Bodies of Military Men can be of any force or value, unleſs many Perſons of Quality or Education be among them; and ſuch men ſhould bluſh to think of excuſing themſelves from ſerving their Country, at leaſt for ſome Years, in a military Capacity, if they conſider that every Roman was obliged to ſpend fifteen Years of his Life in their Armies. Is it not a ſhame that any man who poſſeſſes an Eſtate, and is at the ſame time healthful and young, ſhould not fit himſelf by all means for the defence of that, and

his

his Country, rather than to pay Taxes to maintain a Mercenary, who tho he may defend him during a War, will be ſure to inſult and enſlave him in time of Peace. Men muſt not think that any Country can be in a conſtant poſture of Defence, without ſome trouble and charge; but certainly 'tis better to undergo this, and to preſerve our Liberty with Honour, than to be ſubjected to heavy Taxes, and yet have it inſolently raviſhed from us, to our preſent Oppreſſion, and the laſting Miſery of our Poſterity. But it will be ſaid, Where are the men to be found who ſhall exerciſe all this People in ſo many ſeveral places at once? for the Nobility and Gentry know nothing of the matter; and to hire ſo many Souldiers of Fortune, as they call them, will be chargeable, and may be dangerous, theſe men being all Mercenaries, and always the ſame men, in the ſame Truſts: Beſides that the employing ſuch men would not be ſutable to the Deſign, of breeding the Men of Quality and Eſtate to command, as well as the others to obey.

To obviate these Difficulties; and because the want of a good Model of Militia, and a right Method for training people in time of Peace, so as they need not apprehend any War, tho never so sudden, is at this day the bane of the Liberty of Europe, I shall propose one, accommodated to the invincible Difficulty of bringing Men of Quality and Estate, or men of any Rank, who have passed the time of Youth, to the use of Arms; and new, because tho we have many excellent Models of Militia, delivered to us by antient Authors, with respect to the use of them in time of War, yet they give us but little information concerning the Methods by which they trained their whole People for War in time of Peace; so that if the Model which I shall propose, have not the Authority of the Antients to recommend it, yet perhaps by a severe Discipline, and a right method of disposing the minds of men, as well as forming their bodies, for military and vertuous Actions, it may have some resemblance of their excellent Institutions.

What

What I would offer is, that four Camps be formed, one in Scotland, and three in England; into which all the young men of the respective Countries should enter, on the first day of the two and twentieth Year of their Age; and remain there the space of two Years, if they be of Fortunes sufficient to maintain themselves; but if they are not, then to remain a Year only, at the Expence of the Publick. In this Camp they should be taught the use of all sorts of Arms, with the necessary Evolutions; as also Wrestling, Leaping, Swimming, and the like Exercises. He whose condition would permit him to buy and maintain a Horse, should be obliged so to do, and be taught to vault, to ride, and to manage his own Horse. This Camp should seldom remain above eight days in one place, but remove from Heath to Heath; not only upon the account of cleanliness and health, but to teach the Youth to fortify a Camp, to march, and to accustom them (respect being always had to those of a weak Constitution) to carry as much in their march as

ever any Roman Souldier did; that is to say, Their Tents, Provision, Arms, Armour, their Utensils, and the Palizadoes of their Camp. They should be taught to Forage, and be obliged to use the Countrymen with all justice in their Bargains, for that and all other things they stand in need of from them. The Food of every man within the Camp should be the same; for Bread they should have only Wheat, which they are to be obliged to grind with Hand-mills; they should have some Salt, and a certain number of Beeves allowed them at certain times of the Year. Their Drink should be Water, sometimes tempered with a proportion of Brandy, and at other times with Vinegar. Their Clothes should be plain, coarse, and of a fashion fitted in every thing for the Fatigue of a Camp. For all these things those who could, should pay; and those who could not, should be defray'd by the Publick, as has been said. The Camp should be sometimes divided into two parts, which should remove from each other many miles, and should break up again at the

the ſame time, in order to meet upon ſome mountainous, mariſhy, woody, or in a word, croſs ground; that not only their diligence, patience, and ſuffering in marches, but their skill in ſeizing of Grounds, poſting bodies of Horſe and Foot, and advancing towards each other; their chuſing a Camp, and drawing out of it in order to a Battel, might be ſeen, as well as what Orders of Battel they would form upon the variety of different Grounds. The Perſons of Quality or Eſtate ſhould likewiſe be inſtructed in Fortification, Gunnery, and all things belonging to the Duty of an Ingenier: And Forts ſhould be ſometimes built by the whole Camp, where all the Arts of attacking and defending Places ſhould be practiſed. The Youth having been taught to read at Schools, ſhould be obliged to read at ſpare hours ſome excellent Hiſtories, but chiefly thoſe in which Military Actions are beſt deſcribed; with the Books that have been beſt written concerning the Military Art. Speeches exhorting to military and vertuous Actions, ſhould be often

ten compoſed, and pronounced publickly by ſuch of the Youth as were, by Education and natural Talents, qualified for it. There being none but Military Men allowed within the Camp, and no Churchmen being of that number, ſuch of the Youth as may be fit to exhort the reſt to all Chriſtian and Moral Duties, chiefly to Humility, Modeſty, Charity, and the pardoning of private Injuries, ſhould be choſen to do it every Sunday, and the reſt of that day ſpent in reading Books, and in converſation directed to the ſame end. And all this under ſo ſevere and rigorous Orders, attended with ſo exact an execution by Reward and Puniſhment, that no Officer within the Camp ſhould have the power of pardoning the one, or withholding the other. The Rewards ſhould be all honorary, and contrived to ſuit the Nature of the different good Qualities and Degrees in which any of the Youth had ſhown, either his Modeſty, Obedience, Patience in ſuffering, Temperance, Diligence, Addreſs, Invention, Judgment, Temper or Valour. The Puniſhments

niſhments ſhould be much more rigorous than thoſe inflicted for the ſame Crimes by the Law of the Land. And there ſhould be Puniſhments for ſome things, not liable to any by the common Law, immodeſt and inſolent Words or Actions, Gaming, and the like. No Woman ſhould be ſuffered to come within the Camp, and the Crimes of abuſing their own Bodies any manner of way, puniſhed with death. All theſe things to be judged by their own Councils of War; and thoſe Councils to have for rule, certain Articles drawn up and approved by the reſpective Parliaments. The Officers and Maſters, for inſtructing and teaching the Youth, in all the exerciſes above-mentioned, ſhould upon the firſt eſtabliſhment of ſuch a Camp, be the moſt expert men in thoſe Diſciplines; and brought by incouragements from all places of Europe; due care being taken that they ſhould not infect the youth with foreign Manners. But afterwards they ought to conſiſt of ſuch Men of quality or fortune as ſhould be choſen for that end, out of thoſe who had

formerly past two years in the Camp, and since that time had improved themselves in the Wars; who upon their return should be obliged to serve two years in that Station. As for the numbers of those Officers, or Masters; their several duties; that of the Camp-Master-General, and of the Commissaries; the times and manner of Exercise, with divers other particulars of less consideration, and yet necessary to be determined, in order to put such a design in execution, for brevity's sake I omit them, as easy to be resolved. But certainly it were no hard matter, for men that had passed through such a Discipline as that of the Camp I have described, to retain it after they should return to their several homes; if the people of every Town and Village, together with those of the adjacent Habitations, were obliged to meet 50 times in the Year, on such days as should be found most convenient; and exercise four hours every time: for all men being instructed in what they are to do; and the men of quality and estate most knowing, and expert of all others,

others, the Exercise might be performed in great perfection. There might also be yearly in the Summer time, a Camp of some thousands of the nearest Neighbours brought and kept together for a week to do those Exercises, which cannot be performed in any other place: every Man of a certain Estate being obliged to keep a Horse fit for the War. By this means it would be easy upon any occasion, tho never so small (as for example, the keeping of the Peace, and putting the Laws in execution where force is necessary) or never so great and sudden (as upon account of Invasions and Conspiracies) to bring together such numbers of Officers and Souldiers as the exigence required, according to the practice of antient Rome; which in this particular might be imitated by us without difficulty: And if such a Method were once established, there would be no necessity of keeping up a Militia form'd into Regiments of Foot and Horse in time of Peace. Now if this Militia should stand in need of any farther improvment (because no Militia's seem comparable

ble to those exercised in actual War; as that of the Barons by their constant Feuds; and that of Rome, and some other antient Commonwealths, by their perpetual Wars) a certain small number of Forces might be employed in any foreign Country where there should be action; a fourth part of which might be changed every year; that all those who had in this manner acquired experience, might be dispersed among the several Regiments of any Army, that the defence of these Countries should at any time call for; which would serve to confirm and give assurance to the rest. Such a Militia would be of no great expence to these Nations; for the mean clothing and provisions for those who could not maintain themselves, being given only for one year, would amount to little; and no other expence would be needful, except for their Arms, a small train of Artillery for each Camp, and what is to be given for the encouragement of the first Officers and Masters.

A Militia upon such a foot, would have none of the infinite and insuperable Difficulties there are, to bring a few Men who live at a great distance from one another, frequently together to exercise; at which consequently they must be from home every time several days: of finding such a number of Masters, as are necessary to train so many thousands of People ignorant of all exercise, in so many different places, and for the most part at the same time: It would have none of those innumerable Incumbrances, and unnecessary Expences, with which a Militia formed into Regiments of Foot and Horse in time of Peace is attended. In such a Camp the youth would not only be taught the exercise of a Musket with a few Evolutions, which is all that men in ordinary Militia's pretend to, and is the least part of the duty of a Souldier; but besides a great many Exercises to strengthen and dispose the Body for fight, they would learn to fence, to ride, and manage a Horse for the War; to forage and live in a Camp; to fortify, attack, and defend

fend any place; and what is no leſs neceſſary, to undergo the greateſt Toils, and to give obedience to the ſevereſt Orders. Such a Militia by ſending beyond Seas certain Proportions of it, and relieving them from time to time, would enable us to aſſiſt our Allies more powerfully than by Standing Armies we could ever do. Such a Camp would take away the great difficulty of bringing men of all Conditions, who have paſſed the time of their youth, to apply themſelves to the uſe and exerciſe of Arms; and beginning with them early, when like wax they may be moulded into any ſhape, would diſpoſe them to place their greateſt Honour in the performance of thoſe Exerciſes, and inſpire them with the Fires of Military Glory, to which that Age is ſo enclined; which Impreſſion being made upon their youth, would laſt as long as life. Such a Camp would be as great a School of Vertue as of military Diſcipline: In which the Youth would learn to ſtand in need of few things; to be content with that ſmall allowance which nature requires; to ſuffer, as well as to act;

act; to be modeſt, as well as brave; to be as much aſhamed of doing any thing inſolent or injurious, as of turning their back upon an Enemy; they would learn to forgive Injuries done to themſelves, but to embrace with joy the occaſions of dying to revenge thoſe done to their Country: And Vertue imbib'd in younger years would caſt a Flavour to the utmoſt periods of life. In a word they would learn greater and better things than the Military Art, and more neceſſary too, if any thing can be more neceſſary than the defence of our Country. Such a Militia might not only defend a People living in an Iſland, but even ſuch as are placed in the midſt of the moſt warlike Nations of the World.

Now till ſuch a Militia may be brought to ſome perfection, our preſent Militia is not only ſufficient to defend us; but conſidering the Circumſtances of the French Affairs, eſpecially with relation to Spain, Britain cannot juſtly apprehend an Invaſion, if the Fleet of England, to which Scotland furniſh'd during the late War

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ſeven or eight thouſand Seamen, were in ſuch order as it ought to be. And it can never be the Intereſt of theſe Nations to take any other ſhare in preſerving the Balance of Europe, than what may be performed by our Fleet. By which means our Money will be ſpent amongſt our ſelves, our Trade preſerved to ſupport the Charge of the Navy; our Enemies totally driven out of the Sea, and great numbers of their Forces diverted from oppoſing the Armies of our Allies abroad, to the defence of their own Coaſts.

If this Method had been taken in the late War, I preſume it would have proved, not only more advantagious to us, but alſo more ſerviceable to our Allies than that which was followed. And 'tis in vain to ſay, that at this rate we ſhall have no Allies at all: For the weaker Party on the Continent muſt be contented to accept our Aſſiſtance in the manner we think fit to give it, or inevitably periſh. But if we ſend any Forces beyond the Seas to join thoſe of our Allies, they ought to

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be part of our Militia, as has been ſaid, and not Standing Forces; otherwiſe, at the end of every War, the preſent ſtruggle will recur, and at one time or other theſe Nations will be betrayed, and a Standing Army eſtabliſhed: So that nothing can ſave us from following the Fate of all the other Kingdoms in Europe, but putting our Truſt altogether in our Fleet and Militia's, and having no other Forces than theſe. The Sea is the only Empire which can naturally belong to us. Conqueſt is not our Intereſt, much leſs to conſume our People and Treaſure in conquering for others.

To conclude; If we ſeriouſly conſider the happy Condition of theſe Nations, who have lived ſo long under the Bleſſings of Liberty, we cannot but be affected with the moſt tender Compaſſion to think that the Scots, who have for ſo many Ages, with ſuch Reſolution, defended their Liberty againſt the Picts, Britans, Romans, Saxons, Danes, Iriſh, Normans, and Engliſh,

liſh, as well as againſt the Violence and Tyranny of ſo many of their own Princes: That the Engliſh, who whatever Revolutions their Country has been ſubject to, have ſtill maintained their Rights and Liberties againſt all Attempts; who poſſeſs a Country, every where cultivated and improved by the Induſtry of rich Husbandmen; her Rivers and Harbours filled with Ships; her Cities, Towns, and Villages, enrich'd with Manufactures; where Men of vaſt Eſtates live in ſecure poſſeſſion of them, and whoſe Merchants live in as great ſplendor as the Nobility of other Nations: that Scotland which has a Gentry born to excel in Arts and Arms: that England which has a Commonalty, not only ſurpaſſing all thoſe of that degree which the World can now boaſt of, but alſo thoſe of all former Ages, in Courage, Honeſty, good Senſe, Induſtry, and Generoſity of Temper; in whoſe very Looks there are ſuch viſible Marks of a free and liberal Education; which Advantages cannot be imputed to the Climate, or to any other Cauſe, but

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the Freedom of the Government under which they live: I say, it cannot but make the Hearts of all honest Men bleed to think, that in their Days the Felicity and Liberties of such Countries must come to a Period, if the Parliaments do not prevent it, and his Majesty be not prevailed upon to lay aside the Thoughts of Mercenary Armies, which if once established, will inevitably produce those fatal Consequences that have always attended such Forces in the other Kingdoms of Europe; Violation of Property, Decay of Trade, Oppression of the Country by heavy Taxes and Quarters, the utmost Misery and Slavery of the poorer sort, the Ruin of the Nobility by their Expences in Court and Army, Deceit and Treachery in all Ranks of Men, occasioned by Want and Necessity. Then shall we see the Gentry of Scotland, ignorant through want of Education, and cowardly by being oppressed; then shall we see the once happy Commonalty of England become base and abject, by being continually exposed to the brutal Insolence of

the Souldiers; the Women debauch'd by their Luſt; ugly and naſty through Poverty, and the want of things neceſſary to preſerve their natural Beauty. Then ſhall we ſee that great City, the Pride and Glory, not only of our Iſland, but of the World, ſubjected to the exceſſive Impoſitions Paris now lies under, and reduced to a Pedling Trade, ſerving only to foment the Luxury of a Court. Then will Britain know what Obligations ſhe has to thoſe who are for Mercenary Armies.

FINIS.